/153 cont./

114 of the planter, Mr. Matthews, for whose hospitality and generous help I wish to express my gratitude here. /154/ Very bad weather and other adverse circumstances prevented me from visiting the neighboring islands, so that I became closely acquainted only with the inhabitants of Graciosa Bay. Therefore the following [162] remarks [unless otherwise indicated] refer only to the population in and around Graciosa Bay, which, however, constitutes the greater part of the population of Nitendi.

121 The following is meant to be no more than a supplement to the excellent work by F. Graebner on the "Völkerkunde der Santa-Cruz-Inseln /Ethnography of the Santa Cruz Islands/," which appeared in the first volume of this publication. Naturally, every traveler sees somewhat different aspects of the culture of the same region, and thus I may be permitted to set down my few new observations which deal almost exclusively with the external life of the natives. I have also purposely refrained from [122] systematically examining the entire literature on the Santa Cruz Islands critically. I cannot refrain from expressing my admiration for the perceptiveness with which Mr. Graebner described a culture which he could, after all, know only from inanimate museum objects and from the literature.

114 Professor G. Thilenius was kind enough to let me use the notes which he made in June, 1898, on his journey through Graciosa Bay. I wish to express my thanks to him here.

My supplementary material is organized on the basis of Graebner's work (1).

1. Besides ethnographical material, a fairly large amount of anthropological material was brought back. This is to be worked up later.

101 In accordance with the English sea charts, I prefer to use the name Nitendi rather than Ndeni. The first form seems to be commonly used, and it seems advantageous to adhere to

higher the value of a piece of currency, the fewer there are; thus the rarity value increases with the value as determined by its condition. Translated in terms of our own money, it would be as if a ten-dollar bill was worth more than ten one-dollar bills because there are fewer of them in circulation. Unlike our money again, feather currency has no numerical units of value which permit easy and exact equivalencies to be made. Rather, the value of this exotic currency is not unlike that of precious gems, were they to be used as a medium of exchange. Each stone would be unique as to quality and size, and value could only be determined by recognized criteria of excellence plus the condition of the market. 435 436

Currency flows outward from its source throughout Santa Cruz Island and on to the Reef and Duff Islands in the north. These latter islands constitute areas of perennial shortage. Balancing this one-way flow of currency is a reverse movement of the most valuable commodity of all—women. The Reef Islands send out some of their women in exchange for bride prices paid in feather currency. Santa Cruz Island never sends its women abroad under any circumstances. Formerly, these women came to Santa Cruz both as wives and as concubines. The concubines were clearly distinguished from wives by the fact that they were shared by a group of men in a form of polyandry; they did no gardening or other domestic tasks normally assigned to women; and while they enjoyed a specially favored social position, they could be purveyed as prostitutes, sold outright, or even killed by the will of their owners alone. Bride prices for concubines were much higher than for ordinary wives—ten times higher to be exact. Due to government regulations, wives only are brought to Santa Cruz Island nowadays, but these are the prestigeful marriages, and their bride prices are larger than those of domestic unions. 438 [595] [548] [583] [554]

This one-way movement of women is correlated with an interesting population phenomenon. Santa Cruz Island population statistics reveal an abundance of males as compared with females of marriageable age, while in the Reef Islands the ratio is nearly even. This abundance of men is a phenomenon which has been noted in other Melanesian and New Guinea populations, but it has neither been investigated nor explained. [162]

The Duff Islands in the extreme northeast corner of the group come into the economic picture, not by sending out women, but by being specialists in making large sailing canoes in which cargos and passengers are transported interisland. These canoes are mainly sold to the Polynesian-speaking people of the small atolls of the Western Reef Islands who make their money by voyaging and trading throughout the group. Formerly, they sailed as far as the southern islands of Vanikoro and Utupua, ninety miles south of Santa Cruz Island. These islands depended upon receiving ground shell discs and special lengths of loom-woven fabric of banana fiber, specialties of certain districts of the Reef and Santa Cruz Islands, which were used as currency there. For these they traded feathers used on Santa Cruz Island for the making of feather currency. These shell and fabric currencies of Vanikoro and Utupua have no currency value in the island where they were made, and feather currency has no value in the former islands. [396] [505] [436] [184]

The Santa Cruz Group has a long history of contact with European civilization, beginning with Mendaña's second voyage in 1595. For the most part, however, the early contacts had little effect on the islanders, but were disastrous for the Europeans. Mendaña himself and many of his company died on Santa Cruz Island, Carteret lost some of his men there also when he attempted to land, La Perouse and his entire expedition perished on Vanikoro, and late in the nineteenth century Commodore Goodenough and a dozen Anglican missionaries, including one bishop, met death in several attempts to bring this island group within the confines of the British Empire and Christendom. 177

From 1900 onward the situation began to change. The few recruits who had gone away to work on plantations, and schoolboys who had gone away to mission schools returned [464]

[For a census of Santa Cruz, see category 116, pp. 1-86.]